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Rev Theodore Parker
Boston
Mass

TWO DISCOURSES

ON THE SUBJECT OF

THE WAR BETWEEN THE U. STATES AND MEXICO;

PREACHED IN THE SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, IN SPRINGFIELD,

On Sabbath, 11th July, 1847,

BY ALBERT HALE, PASTOR OF THE CHURCH.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

SPRINGFIELD:

PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF THE SANGAMO JOURNAL—AUGUST, 1847.

REV. MR. HALE,

Dear Sir,—The sermons delivered by you on the 11th July, in pursuance of the recommendation of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, on the existing war between this country and Mexico, having been made the subject of extraordinary debate and action in the Constitutional Convention, now in session in this city, we request of you a copy of said sermons for publication; that all who feel an interest in the matter may be able to form a correct opinion.

SILAS W. ROBBINS,
JOSEPH THAYER,
BENJAMIN S. EDWARDS,
E. B. PEASE,
E. R. WILEY,
J. L. LAMB,
W. DILLARD.

Springfield, August 10, 1847.

We deem it proper to append the following statement of facts, for the reasons which have induced us to ask for the publication of these sermons:

On Monday, the 12th July, Mr. G. W. AKIN, delegate from Franklin county, introduced the following in the Convention:

"Whereas, Mr. Hale, in a sermon on the 11th day of July, in the 2d Presbyterian Church, denounced the existing war with Mexico, as being unjust; and whereas, *such declarations ought not to be tolerated,* more especially in a republican government; and whereas, it is unbecoming a minister of the gospel to use such language in a gospel sermon, or before the young and rising generation; therefore,

"*Resolved,* That said Mr. Hale be excused from holding prayers in this Convention for the future."

Mr. Thompson Campbell, of Jo Daviess, moved "that the Rev. Mr. Hale be excused in future from praying in this Convention."

After considerable debate, these resolutions were laid on the table.

On Monday morning, July 19th, Mr. Hale being about to open the session of the Convention with prayer, as requested, was, during the ceremony, interrupted by hissing and clapping of hands, by Mr. Akin, the member from Franklin, who then left the hall.

After Mr. Hale had concluded his prayer, he left the hall, and was retiring from the Capitol, when Mr. Akin took occasion to insult him, by saying to him that "if he did not wish to be hurt, he must not come there again."

The next day, on motion of Mr. Knapp, of Jersey, the following preamble and resolution were adopted by the Convention, viz:

"Whereas, a respectable minister of the gospel, whilst attending the Convention to open the session by prayer, under the resolution of the Convention, has been grossly insulted and menaced with bodily injury, by a member of the Convention; and whereas, it is alike due to the Convention and the ministers, that we should not invite them to perform that duty unless we could secure them against such indignities; therefore,

"*Resolved,* That the resolution, inviting the clergymen of Springfield to open the sessions of the Convention with prayer, be rescinded; and that the secretary inform the said clergymen of the same, with the assurance of the Convention that this step is not adopted from any dissatisfaction of the manner in which they have discharged their sacred duty, but solely from an unwillingness to subject them to the repetition of such indignities."

That portion of the above preamble, implying that the Convention could not protect clergymen from insult while attending to open their sessions with prayer, having been rescinded, the preamble and resolution were adopted.

Believing that these facts form an instance of official interference with the freedom of speech, and of religious discussion and belief, which is totally at variance with our free institutions, we have deemed it proper to make them public, in connection with the sermons which gave rise to them, that the community may be able to form a correct opinion in the case.

The following discourses were prepared, and preached, agreeably to a request of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. The same resolution, substantially, inviting the ministers and churches to observe the 2d Sabbath in July as a day of humiliation and prayer, on account of the existing war with Mexico, and to supplicate the speedy return of peace, was passed by the General Assembly of each branch of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

For the sentiments advanced in the discourses, no General Assembly or other ecclesiastical body, or church, is responsible. Whether the sentiments are true, and in accordance with the teaching and spirit of the gospel and its glorious Author; and whether the preaching of them, at the time and under the circumstances, was wise and a duty; are matters for which the writer expects to answer at the tribunal of conscience and of God.

The author belongs to no political party whatever. No political party, as such, now in existence, maintains such sentiments. They were preached on the Sabbath day, as gospel truth. To the gospel—and to that alone—is the reader referred, as the unerring standard by which they are to be tried. If, by that standard, they are approved, the author will be satisfied.

It is proper to state that the second discourse was, as delivered, to a great extent, *ex tempore;* and has been written out since. A portion of it, which was omitted in the preaching for want of time, is retained in print. The passage which, by being misunderstood, gave special offense, is given almost *verbatim* as delivered. The slight verbal changes only give the statements more clearness and intensity.

SERMONS.

JAMES 4: 1.—*From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts which war in your members?*

IT is not my purpose to inquire whether the apostle, in this text, refers to wars between states and nations, or to the contests which early arose between different portions of the church of God. My purpose is to address you, on this occasion, on the general subject of war, its causes, and its essential injustice and iniquity.

1. What is a war? War is an armed contest to settle a disputed question of right. In the language of another*—incomparably the best living writer, on the subject—"War is a public, armed contest, between nations, in order to establish justice between them."

Lord Bacon calls war "one of the highest trials of right, when princes and states put themselves upon the justice of God for the deciding of their controversies, by such success as it shall please him to give on either side." Which, considering the nature of the means employed to conduct this "highest trial of right" to issue, is about the same as the old adage, "might gives right."

Now, whatever may be said of a portion of ancient wars—many of which were little better than open piracies, with scarcely the poor and pitiful pretence that accompanies a modern war—all modern wars, between what are termed christian nations, are included in the definition just given. Any war waged between civilized nations, for the last thousand years, will perfectly illustrate it. The wars of Bonaparte, which even he declares were wars of defense; the wars of England with China, and the East generally, were wars in which those who waged them claimed something, as a right, which their enemies refused to yield. The war declared by America against England, in 1812, was to settle the disputed right of the British to search our vessels.

The war threatened between this country and England, in reference to the boundaries of Maine and Oregon, had we gone to war, would have been to settle, by an armed contest between the two nations, this disputed question of right.

It is called an appeal to arms; an appeal to the sword; an appeal to the God of battles. The language is of common use in courts; implying that other means had been resorted to, in vain, to establish justice between the contending parties.

In this view of the nature of war, there is little room for dispute on the subject of wars usually styled 'defensive'; as the only question is, with what kind and degree of occasion, and excuse for it, a nation may make this appeal to "the last reason of kings."

Those who resort to war, as a means of settling disputed questions between nations, commonly endeavor to show that it is occasioned by the injustice and violence of their enemies—that it is a war of defense. In every such instrument as a declaration of war, you will find set forth the insults received; the evils threatened; the rights invaded; the justice demanded; and, perhaps, the war actually raging. And then, with these things as their justification, they appeal to force—to arms—to violence—to settle the question of right, and establish justice between them and their enemies.

* Sumner.

Such is war—all war—waged by civilized nations. The view is somewhat abstract, but true to the nature of the subject. It is bringing the physical power of two or more nations into fearful collision for the wasting of their treasures, their resources, their virtue, their happiness and their life blood; till by the awful preponderance of power on the one hand, and destruction on the other, the mysterious balance rises, and the question of right is decided!

It is the same in its nature as the judicial combats which originated in Germany, in the dark ages, where one of the parties challenged the other; and, instead of a judicial investigation, the parties fought in the presence of the court, and by "might," and not by reason and truth, they established *justice* between the litigants. This custom prevailed long and extensively in France and England; the law for which, in the latter country, was not repealed till the year 1817.

It is the same sort of an affray between nations as a duel between individuals; and is so much the greater evil and crime as the power brought into action is greater, the interests concerned more important and diversified, the dangers more appalling, and the evils, in all respects, more overwhelming. The one is an individual evil, danger, crime, with its attendants and consequences; the other is national, and, in all its relations and consequences, is on the scale of nations.

II. Let us notice the causes of war:

1. The text informs us that the origin, the causes of war, are to be found in the corrupt passions of human nature: "Come they not hence, even of your lusts which war in your members?"

Our regrets at the sad issues of events are often alleviated by the reflection that they were the product of important and worthy causes. The friend of man, whose premature death we mourn, as the result of severe toil and exposure, to relieve his suffering fellow men, furnishes us the deepest consolation in the thought that he wasted the energies of life in deeds of humanity; but in surveying the causes of war, as they are traced by the historian, we are cheered by no such consolations. The most trivial and insignificant as well as the most unworthy causes, have given rise to the wars of mankind.

According to Prof. Upham, the wars of civilized nations since the spread of Christianity, or since the time of Constantine, amount to 286 wars; at this time, to more than 290. In this statement, a vast number of petty wars between small nations of antiquity, temporary insurrections, and a large number of wars between christians and savages, are omitted.

Of the 286 wars, mentioned above, whose causes were inquired into by some of the most competent minds in the land, 44 were strictly wars of *ambition;* 22 wars of *plunder, tribute,* &c.; 24 wars of *retaliation* and *revenge;* 8 wars to settle some *question of honor* or *prerogative;* 6 wars arising from *disputed claims to territory;* 41 wars arising from *disputed titles to crowns,* to settle the mighty question which of two despots should crush the millions of their abject and oppressed subjects;—30 wars commenced under pretence of aiding an ally; 23 wars originating in *jealousy of rival greatness;* 5 wars have grown out of commerce; 55 civil wars; 28 wars on account of religion, including the crusades against the Turks and heretics.

A very large portion of these wars, it can be seen at a glance, are the product of *avarice;* others, of pride, ambition and revenge. There is not a war among them all but has originated in passions, the indulgence of which is opposed to the will of God, destructive of human virtue, and plainly prohibited in the sacred scriptures.

Even admitting that war under some peculiar circumstances might be justified, the causes of the wars which have been waged by civilized nations are such as condemn them; not merely because they were impolitic, but because they were inhuman and immensely wicked. How trivial, for instance, must the causes of those wars appear, in which tens of thousands of human beings have been hurried into eternity, amidst all the horrors of the camp and the battle-field, merely because rival princes or rival governments could not, or rather would not, agree as to the division of their power, or terri-

tory? It is a fact of accredited history, that two states of southern Europe* were embroiled in a long and bloody war, in consequence of some soldiers of the state running away with a bucket belonging to a public well. A distinguished foreign writer has given an account of a dispute about the making of a pair of gloves, in which a royal personage was engaged, and which had the effect to change the aspect of affairs in all Europe.

The sarcastic language of Dean Swift is none too strong, when he remarks that "sometimes a war between two princes is to decide which of them shall dispossess a third of his dominions, whereto neither of them pretend to any right;" (one can scarcely read this passage without thinking of unhappy, injured Poland, whose life was quenched in blood—a sacrifice to the selfish and malignant passions of surrounding despots)—"sometimes one prince quarreleth with another for fear the other should quarrel with him. Sometimes a war is entered upon because an enemy is *too strong*—(in the plausible modern language of *ambition* and *lust of dominion*, 'to preserve the balance of power.') Sometimes, because he is too weak. Sometimes our neighbors want the things we have, or have the things we want; and we both fight till they take ours or give theirs."

Nor should it ever be forgotten that the causes of war lie in one, or at most, in a very few minds. The nation itself—the great mass of the people—seldom plunges itself into a war of its own choice. It is the work of their rulers, and the demagogues, and the speculators, who expect to grow rich by its chances and its spoils. Nor is it always the easiest part of the work, when the war is actually begun, to stimulate the people to the deeds of cruelty and death which are the inevitable result, and the common work, of war.

†"We are shocked to read that Louis XIV. gave orders to lay waste the whole Palatinate, a beautiful country in the heart of Europe. He signed the order, says Voltaire, at his palace in Versailles, 'because he saw nothing in such a command but his *own power* and the *unhappy right* of war. Thus it is,' he continues, 'rulers, in the midst of abundance drawn from the toil of the people, and surrounded by the allurements of festival and song, by a mere dash of the pen, have crushed innumerable hearts, and sent the deepest sorrow and desolation into the innumerable dwellings of their people.'"

III. But we are to notice, in the third place, the essential iniquity of war.

It may here be asked, is it ever right for nations to attempt to settle their disputes by an appeal to the sword? Is war ever to be justified? I reply that, when God reveals his will to any people, and commands them to go to war, then it is right, as in all other cases of unusual and specific requirement, to go to war. It is only saying that men should obey the will of God, clearly made known to them. It is on this ground alone that we justify the wars of the conquest of Canaan, and certain other wars (not all) named in the Old Testament. He who knows how and when to employ storms, earthquakes and volcanoes; famine, pestilence and death, as agents to execute His judgments on mankind, can tell when it is right for Him to open the gates of war, to let loose its furies. But for man, weak, and short-sighted—with his reason clouded by selfishness and ambition—to presume to do it, without the clear revelation of the will of heaven, is to arrogate to himself a degree of knowledge, of wisdom, and impartial benevolence, truly prodigious!

In reference then to all wars which God has not authorized, by revealing his will distinctly in favor of waging them, I answer, they are crime on the largest scale; and no friend of God and man, with a mind and conscience properly enlightened by the gospel, can fail to oppose them and seek their removal.

The ground taken by the early christians generally (not universally), is the only true ground on which christian men can consistently stand, viz: "Christianity is opposed

* Bologna and Modena. † Upham.

to war, therefore we do not fight." "Christ is the Prince of Peace." "His kingdom is not of the world; it is the reign of love; therefore his servants do not fight."

If it be said that the Old Testament is a part of the revealed will of God, and that it is pervaded with the sentiments and the spirit of the war, it is enough to reply,

(1.) This may all be accounted for on the ground of the well-known peculiarities of that age and that dispensation, while the moral principles of the Old Testament are identical with those of the New, and demand universal and impartial benevolence between nations and individuals, and thus would utterly remove all wars from among men, by preventing the adoption of its principles, and the exercise of its spirit, but,

(2) It is from the Old Testament we have announced, in prophecy, the coming of another dispensation, in the midst of which we are living, which was to introduce a universal peace among the nations; when men, under the influence of the gospel, would lay aside the arts of war—would beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks, and learn war no more.

(3.) The teachings of Christ and his apostles are diametrically opposed to war; and no man can receive them to his heart, with a mind and conscience duly enlightened, and still go to war; for,

1. The gospel utterly forbids the indulgence of those passions which are universally the cause of war; such as pride, envy, vanity, hatred, avarice, ambition, partiality, prejudice, suspicion, and every other passion out of which wars always arise. If, therefore, the gospel is obeyed, a war becomes impossible. Christianity prevents it, by removing the causes of war; just so far as the spirit of Christ prevails, (and without it we are none of his,) wars are prevented by removing all the causes of war.

2. The law of Christianity—which is the law of God, and binding on all men—treats men as belonging to one family; commands all men to love each other as they love themselves. That law allows no distinction of age, nation, language, clime, color, profession or pursuit, to repeal or modify the obligation to love, and only love, every individual of the human race, with the sincerest regard to all their real interests and rights, personal, domestic, social, public, temporal and spiritual. The law of Christ allows no circumstance of insult, irritation, injustice, provocation; no criminal act of any kind, on the part of others, to set us free from its obligation. Its *design* is to protect the rights, the virtue, the happiness of all the race; by forbidding to each individual whatsoever would sacrifice either, and by requiring in each individual all those principles, dispositions and acts, which will, according to truth, promote every real interest of every fellow-being in the universe; so that the rights, privileges, virtue, and interests of every kind, can never be invaded, even temporarily, without the violation of this law on the part of some one, never utterly sacrificed without *his own* violation of it.

But what is war, in its relation to this law? I reply, it is not merely the violation of it; it is virtually, and for the time, its repeal. It is a requisition, on the part of a human government, of hatred of a portion of the human family whom the law of God requires us to love. It is a requisition to destroy that life which the law of God requires us to save. It is a command to rob the aged father of his children—the wife of her husband—the sister of her brother—the children of their father;—and to do this, when God never required it in the execution of his righteous judgments; but forbade it, in the abundance of his mercy and his truth.

It is a command to sack—to rob and burn—towns, villages, cities; to ravage empires and kingdoms; and to murder, send into captivity, to prison and to bondage, their population indiscriminately.

It is a requirement, by state authority, to storm castles, sink ships, destroy commerce, and put an end to all peaceful and fraternal intercourse between man and his fellow-man!

It is a command to reduce whole communities to starvation and despair; to seize upon their property, their conveniences and privileges of every description; and, if they cannot be appropriated to ourselves, to suspend their use, or devote them wantonly to ruin. In

a word, it is a command to produce, on the largest possible scale, sorrow, mourning, poverty, vice, wretchedness and death.

If it is said these things are done on account of crimes committed, and to establish justice, then let the man, or the men, who caused the war, be sought out, their guilt established, and due punishment inflicted; and no christian will complain. But let not the ruthless hand of indiscriminate destruction be raised over whole communities of men, convicted of no fault, merely because the state allows it.

It is in vain to say these things are done by public authority, and individuals are not accountable. Unless the passage in the gospel can be shown, where God has authorized man to hate his neighbor on account of the state; to kill his fellow-men when his country is at war; to burn, destroy; to produce misery, sorrow, and death; whenever a civil ruler is pleased to get angry enough, or be insulted; ambitious, covetous, proud, or revengeful enough, to issue a declaration of war,—we must still be allowed to think, and to say, that war is not only a crime against God and man, but that the individual acts of warring men are so much the more criminal as they are, by public authority and the circumstances of the case, and the means and instruments they employ, enabled to accomplish a much larger amount of evil than would be possible to them without these helps.

Viewed, then, as a sort of repeal—a universal license to violate the law of God's kingdom—war is universally wrong and wicked. The only way to evade this conclusion is to assert, that what is crime in the individual, is righteousness in the nation. Whoever wishes to maintain this proposition, let him do it.

3. The law of war is the law of honor. War is conceived in the spirit of this law; and all its horrid crimes are only acts of obedience to its precepts, and the exhibitions of its spirit.

By this code, pride, ambition and revenge, are virtues!—while to be humble, meek, and self-denying, is to be mean and despicable.

The code of honor—of war—*requires* revenge for injuries and insults. The gospel *requires* us not to "avenge ourselves;" but to be followers of Him "who made himself of no reputation," and who never employed violence to redress his wrongs.

The code of honor—of war—is blow for blow; insult for insult; injury for injury. The gospel says "resist not evil;" if a man smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other also;—render to no man evil for evil, or railing for railing. Being reviled, revile not again; but commit yourself to Him who judgeth righteously. "Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; bless, and curse not." But I need not pursue this comparison. The fact that war in its origin, and its acts, is only so much obedience to the law of honor—is the most perfect proof that it is essential crime and iniquity in the view of God. If among devils and damned spirits there are moral regulations, they doubtless are "summarily comprehended" in the code of honor.

4. The precious interests war inevitably sacrifices, indicate its deeply criminal nature and tendencies. These will be more fully noticed in the following discourse, on the particular war in which this nation is involved.

I close this discourse, with a single reflection:—the existence of war is reason for deep humiliation before God.

MAT. 26: 8.—*To what purpose is this waste?*

I HAVE no pleasure in speaking of the war between the United States and Mexico. I have ever avoided all public mention of it, only as duty has seemed to demand it. The whole subject, in all its bearings and relations, is fraught with the deepest sorrow and woe.

I am quite aware, too, of the prejudice against a minister of Christ, who, fearlessly and honestly, speaks the truth against the acts of the government, and the policy of our

public men. The power of party pride and intolerance is very great, and a lover of peace might well desire to avoid all collision with it. A political friend of the present administration recently complained, on the floor of Congress, that "the religious sentiment of the nation had been invoked against the war." It may be asked, in astonishment, what that *religion* is, that needs to be "invoked," or *evoked* against such a war?

The tone of the political press, too, on this subject, is sufficiently threatening; not a few, through this channel, taking the ground that it is equivalent to treason to denounce the war with Mexico—together with the measures which originated it, and the men who brought it about and carry it on. But the feelings of men, and the tone and spirit of the press, can be no rule of speech or action for the servant of Christ. I am not here as a politician, and if I were, it would not change my views of the impolicy and injustice of this war; but as the humble servant of Him who was hated of the world, because He testified that its works were evil.

In seeking the occasions of humiliation before God, on account of the war between this Republic and Mexico, let us, as suggested in the text, notice,

I. The waste. The cost of the war with Mexico, and

II. The reasons why it is waged. The causes of the war, and the reasons of its prosecution; and,

III. The occasion for humiliation and prayer to the God of peace, that He would stay the further effusion of blood, and restore peace and tranquillity between the two nations.

I. The waste. The cost of the war with Mexico:

1. Its cost in money. As this is the least valuable of all the items of cost, it shall first demand our attention.

The amount of treasure consumed in this war is variously estimated. One, on whose intelligence and accurate judgment great reliance may be placed, early announced that it would cost, to carry on the war with Mexico, a half million of dollars per day; or more than 180 millions of dollars yer year. At this rate, the cost is now to our nation more than 200 millions of dollars.

Another, whose accuracy is generally to be relied on, estimates the cost, up to this time, at 100 to 200 millions—say 150 millions of dollars.

Other estimates vary from 50 millions to 150 millions of dollars. The *actual* cost it is at this time impossible to ascertain; nor is it to be expected that the whole truth will ever be fairly laid before the American people. I doubt whether there is a politician in the land, who is a friend of the war, who would risk his reputation to tell the whole truth on this subject, if he knew it.

In any view of it, the sum wasted is immense; amounting to from five to ten dollars, each, for every man, woman and child in this nation.

But this is only the cost to our own government and people. The cost and losses occasioned by the destruction of their property, to the Mexicans, is not likely to be less than our own. If we estimate the whole sacrifice of money and property, to both the United States and Mexico, to the present time, it will not be likely to fall short of 400,000,000 dollars!

But this is not all. The withdrawing of 20,000 to 50,000 men, all able-bodied and in the prime of life, from the ranks of productive industry, and causing them to become the most destructive and voracious consumers, adds an item of incalculable value to the pecuniary cost of the war.

Besides this, the injury done to commerce and the *business* of the country, by diverting the circulating medium from its accustomed channels, is immense.

Whether these estimates are correct or incorrect, is nothing to my purpose. The whole object is to show, by referring to various items of cost, and to the estimates made of them by others, that the pecuniary cost of the war is immensely great.

2. But the waste of treasure, though immense, is small, when compared with the *sacrifice of human life*. At the lowest estimate, 10,000 Mexicans and 5,000 Ameri-

cans have already fallen, and are numbered with the dead. Each of these soldiers was connected, as we all are, by the tender ties of kindred, love and friendship. Each of them was formed by his Maker for all the high ends of the present life, and of a future endless existence. Each of them was summoned from the warm embrace of family, and the claims of duty in peaceful life. Go, survey the camp, and the hospital, where they sickened, suffered and died. Gaze on their torn, shattered carcasses, and their bones bleaching in the sun. Count their graves; and as you muse silently in these scenes, reflect--"These are the human sacrifices of the war, *thus far*, between this Republic and Mexico!"

3. This war, like all other wars, has occasioned the most barbarous and inhuman cruelties. Think of the sufferings from inadequate and bad provisions and bad water; to say nothing of the suffering from these when no water could be obtained. Think of the suffering occasioned by long and tedious marches over bad roads, in a sultry clime, and, in many instances, with feeble health, or even with acute disease. One of the generals of the American army is, just at this time, accused by the public press of marching his men over the burning sand, and under the scorching sun, *at mid-day;* as a natural consequence, numbers were overcome by heat and fatigue, and several of them fell down and died by the way!

The sufferings, too, from inadequate clothing. Large numbers--if I mistake not--whole regiments were, at times, so utterly unprovided for in this respect, as to be exposed to severe sufferings. "Young men of intelligence and education, accustomed to the luxuries of life, are, by the neglect of government, absolutely turned naked in a wild country, and exposed to the rigors of the climate, and suffering from the weather, without care on the part of the government they serve."

I might proceed with similar details to any extent. The ordinary history of the war, as of all wars, is filled with the accounts of these sufferings. But these are small when compared to the sacrifice of happiness, the severe sufferings of the sick, the wounded and the dying. Unless the sick soldier has the singular good fortune to get admission to a hospital, his blanket and the ground are his only couch. Kind feeling there doubtless will be in the warm breast of his comrades; but their power to aid him, or even to soothe his sorrows, is extremely limited. For the most part, he must *suffer* alone, and *die* alone.

But what tongue or pen can describe the pains and sufferings of the wounded and the dying? The stoutest hearts, the most hardened men, have relented at the sight of the mangled bodies on the battle-field. The pains, the groans and the agonies, of wounded and dying men, scattered over the plain, or crowded into the hospital, may be imagined, but can never be adequately described!

And the soldier does not suffer alone. He is bound to kindred and sympathizing hearts all over the land, who are the partners of his anguish. What scores and thousands await the coming and the opening of the mails, with silent but dreadful agony! The father, the mother, the wife, the children and friends, have trembled as they listened to the rattling of the wheels of the mail coach; and trembled again, as they opened the letters from the scene of strife and war. Thousands of innocent and peaceful citizens, who never drew a breath in favor of the war, have mourned the death of those cut off in battle or who perished by disease; and hundreds of thousands more have suffered an untold amount of anguish, in the apprehension of the sufferings of friends exposed to the horrors of war.

4. But there are individual acts of cruelty and barbarity, occasioned by the war with Mexico, which must have a place among the items of waste--the cost of the war.

In how many instances have small parties--sometimes, soldiers--sometimes, teamsters, or travellers and traders--quietly pursuing their way, as quietly as is possible in a country infested with war, been overtaken and cut to pieces? Go to the place where such a company is on its way; on a sudden they are surprised by a company of fierce-looking armed men;--then follows the begging for life on the part of defenseless

men, women and children;--see their butchery, their blood flowing;--hear the faint, faltering accents of the dying;—witness the last struggle;—listen to the last groan, and gaze on their lifeless, mangled corpses, when their spirits are fled. Mark the men who have perpetrated this deed of savage cruelty, as they move off in triumph, bearing in their hands the spoils of war—the price of blood! As you pause and reflect on this scene, take the guage and dimensions of the frightful miseries inflicted; of the happiness sacrificed; and coolly calculate the cost--the *waste*--of the Mexican war!

Go to the town, where a man is walking with others on the open plaza. In a moment, the lasso is thrown around his neck, by a horseman, and he is dragged at full speed to a retired place, where he is robbed of his papers and left a mangled corpse!

Mark that angel of mercy, in the evening after the battle of Monterey;—a Mexican woman, busily engaged in carrying bread and water to the wounded and dying of both armies. Says an eye witness: "I saw her raise the head of a wounded man, give him water and food; and then carefully bind up his ghastly wound with a handkerchief from her own head. After she had exhausted her supplies, she returned to her house to get bread and water for others. As she was returning on her mission of mercy, I heard the report of a gun, and saw the poor, innocent creature fall dead. It made me sick at heart, and, turning from the scene, I involuntarily raised my eyes to heaven, and thought, O, God! this is war. Passing the spot the next day, I saw her body still lying there, and the bread by her side, and the broken gourd, with a few drops of water still in it--emblems of her merciful errand!"

In the accounts of one of the battles fought since this war begun, it is stated by one who professed to know, that among the dead was found *a woman, staked through the breast to the earth!!*"

To these, and many other similar acts of cruelty at the bare recital of which humanity shudders, might be added the needless, wanton, and brutal acts, by which, in the storming of towns, the conducting of sieges, and other warlike movements, human life and happiness have been trifled with, and profusely sacrificed. But such is war!

5. There is another *waste*—a *loss*, of a far more important kind, to be enumerated. It is a loss, too, on the largest scale. I mean—the sacrifice of a good conscience, and of religious principle.

Many, it is believed, by enlistment--or becoming responsibly connected with the war at all—violated the plainest dictates of conscience.

How many, who went to fight the Mexicans--are now there, or on their way—retain the principles and practice of temperance, which they had previously adopted?

How many, who were not habituated to the use of profane and impure language, soon learned to give greater license to the tongue, and profane the name of God?

How many, who were trained in the lap of piety at home; were conscientious and pure minded youth and men—became abandoned to gaming, profanity, and more degrading vices?

How many, who regarded the book and the day of God, forgot both?

How many, who were once members of the church of Christ, have not only fallen away, but became the most abandoned and wicked of their company?

What numbers of them have been enticed from the paths of virtue, and encouraged in wickedness, by the example of their officers, by whose influence they were induced to forsake the peaceful employments of private life, for the trials, exposures and temptations, of the camp and the field?

Who, that fairly estimates the worth of virtue, of a good conscience, and of the hopes and consolations of religion, can calculate the waste—the loss--where thousands sacrifice them all? Who, that understands the value of strict temperance—the value of any single virtue, and how indispensable it is to human happiness--can calculate the loss sustained in these respects, by means of the Mexican war? Habits of industry and economy, lost; habits of temperance and sobriety, abandoned; habits of truth and conscientiousness, given up. The habit of thought and care for the honor of

God, and the eternal well-being of the soul; the dearest habits of mind, and qualities of the heart, perished; the soul and its happiness for ever lost!—who can estimate the waste? Noble exceptions, doubtless, there are to all this; but either the war with Mexico is an exception to all the wars ever waged by civilized nations, or these things are among the items of its enormous and useless waste.

And, when the war is over, the multitudes that remain—that have been schooled amidst its immoralities, its cruelties and its crimes—will operate, like a moral pestilence, over the length and breadth of the land. It is perfectly natural it should be so. It is of the very nature of their employment, to make them feel that the claims of humanity, of virtue, and of God, are a mere name.*

6. Again: there is the robbery of many families of their most valuable members, and the land, of those who had it in their power to do much for the general good. Many, who might have done essential service to their country, and to their species, have been sent to an untimely grave. The whole land feels the loss of some of her ablest sons. Our own state, at this very hour, mourns the death of one, just rising to the strength and maturity of his power to do good. The country, and the human family, is robbed of whatever good they might have done.

A large number of modest, obscure and virtuous families have been robbed of their chief solace and support. The aged mother is robbed of the son, on whose more youthful form she leaned for support. The young wife, whose life had just entwined inseparably with that of her husband, weeps in solitary widowhood. Brothers, sisters, children, are robbed of their best friends, and the dearest solace of social life. But they are retiring, and modest. Their sorrows will remain unknown, and unnoticed on earth, though recorded on the book of God's remembrance, among the cost of the Mexican war.

II. Let us, in the second place, notice the reason for this waste. "To what purpose is this waste?"

In stating the reasons why we are at war with Mexico—the causes of the war—I am under no necessity, nor am I inclined at all, to submit any opinions of my own.—The causes of the war are variously stated, some of which are as follows:

1. It is said that Mexico was indebted to the U. States in about the sum of $3,000,000. That she had promised to pay it; and, either she *would* not or *could* not—at all events, she *did* not—pay it. And, moreover, she had not always acted very courteously toward our government. In plain language—she had insulted us; and, for these causes, we are at war with her.

2. It is said that the annexation of Texas, in contravention of the expressed will of Mexico, and other acts connected with it, were the germ or the cause of the war.

3. It is stated that a disputed claim to the territory lying between two rivers—the Nueces and the Rio Grande—was the occasion of the war.

4. It has been asserted, often, that the war was caused by the order of the president

* This is the passage which has caused such serious offense. It has been objected to, chiefly, as an attack on "the character of the returned volunteers." Any person can see at a glance, that, to construe the language in that way, is to wrest it from its obvious import. The men, *generally*, of all sorts and grades, who are engaged in the war, and who suffer its trials amd temptations, are the objects of the remarks. For aught that the passage declares to the contrary, every "returned voluntcer" may be even purer in virtue than before he went. Besides, there are not above a half dozen persons, who went to Mexico and have returned, with whose morals and habits I am, or ever was, acquainted; and therefore could not, had I been disposed, have given a particle of testimony on the subject. The fact that *they are returned*, and *refused a second enlistment*, is, *in my view*, *greatly in favor of their morals*. But the reported results of the war, on the morals and habits of those who engage in it, it is not very difficult to obtain. There is one way, and one only, in which any "returned volunteer" can, with fairness, apply the statements to himself. It is by acknowledging himself a sufferer in his morals, by his connection with the war. In this case, though not thought of by me when the discourse was preached, I acknowledge, the statements fairly apply.

But it seems quite probable that my faults are greater, and less likely to be forgiven, because I did not render suitable praise for their deeds of valor and courage. I have not a particle of doubt that they fought as bravely, and as destructively, as any fighting men ever did; and that they deserve all the praise, and glory, that belongs to men who engage in the deadly strife of the battle-field. But, for a minister of Christ to unite in praising the military hero, it seems proper to ascertain where—in the gospel, martial courage—valor displayed in fighting the enemies of one's country in war is counted a christian virtue. The Illinois volunteers were doubtless as brave—and fought as well—as any fighters in any age of the world; but it surely is not needful, in order to fight well, to have a good moral character—or to preserve it.

to the army, to occupy the disputed territory; and therefore it is the president's war, and he alone is responsible for it. If this be true, the president may well tremble at the fearful responsibility assumed, and the dread account he must render to God!

5. It is claimed in a famous executive document, that Mexico actually commenced hostilities; while in other portions of the same document is a long argument, to show that, according to the usages of nations, the United States had good reasons for commencing them, and tacitly admits that such was actually the case; or, that we were the aggressors. For the truth of such statements and reasonings, it is not for me to be responsible.

6. It is asserted that the war was brought on, as the result of executive policy, to favor a section of the Union, with no impartial regard to the true interests of the whole.

7. It is regarded by many as a master stroke of policy, on the part of our government, to protect, perpetuate and extend slavery, by the acquisition of new territory to be formed into new slave states.

8. It is quite likely that intimations, often thrown before the public mind--sometimes by speeches in Congress; sometimes through the columns of a newspaper, in the reports of the agents of the government, by travellers and speculators—that immense wealth was treasured up in the churches of Mexico, and in the hands of the priests and prominent wealthy men; and that vast resources would be derived from the mines, provided they were subjected to Anglo-Saxon skill and enterprize; have had their full share of influence to produce the war, by preparing all the covetous, and through them thousands of others, in all parts of the land, to welcome the war, who would otherwise have utterly opposed it.

9. It is said to be prosecuted with vigor, to obtain the boon of peace. Because we so *greatly desire a peace*, therefore we *prosecute the war* with murderous ferocity.

Whether any or all or none, of these are the true causes of the war, it is not in my power to say. They are *the* reasons, alleged by men of various sentiments, and parties, in the country. And this, it is presumed, is about all that can be said in favor of the war. Let us then,

III. As christians, bring these causes of the war into comparison with its *waste;* and thus see the occasion for unfeigned humiliation before God, and earnest prayer to Him, to stop the effusion of blood and bestow, speedily, the blessings of peace.

1. This war, like all other wars, is a crime against God and man. Viewed in the light of christian truth, it is of the same nature, originated in the same law, and is waged under the influence of the same criminal passions, and has the same malignant relations to humanity, and to the government of God, as other wars. It enjoys but a single sad pre-eminence, the utter want of any plausible excuse for it. Even allowing that war might ever be justified or excused, the reasons given for this are its condemnation; out of its own mouth is it judged. I ask, then,

2. Is it right--can this waste be justified, by an enlightened public conscience, and by the principles of the gospel of God, our Savior? If not, then have we sinned in entering upon the war; sinned in prosecuting it, and and are sinning still; sinning nationally, and grievously, by not withdrawing at once, from all belligerent action, and trusting to other and peaceful means to settle our controversy, and establish justice between us and Mexico.

We have sunk fifty--one hundred--perhaps, two hundred millions of dollars; the gift of God, through the productive industry of the nation. We have, by this war, occasioned enormous sufferings, and inhuman cruelties. The virtue of multitudes, the most precious of human possessions, we have freely sacrificed. Thousands of families we have robbed of their chief solace and support; we have filled thousands of dwellings with mourning, and tens of thousands of hearts with unutterable anguish and woe! We have caused the cry of the poor, the widow and the orphan, to go up to avenging heaven. We have robbed the land of some of her choicest sons, her brightest ornaments; and humanity of those who had it in their power to do much for the well-being

of the human race. We have already sent to the grave fifteen thousand human beings! By the ruthless hand of war, they have been torn from the tender ties of domestic and social affinity and love; and led up, in solemn procession, to the great bloody altar; the human sacrifices to the relentless and insatiable god of war!

And will it justify us; will conscience—will heaven—justify us, in doing these deeds, directly or indirectly, *because* Mexico owed us $3,000,000, and would not pay it?—or, that she insulted us, and we had not grace to bear it? Will it justify us in such deeds, to say we wanted Texas, and endeavored to think we had a claim to it, and were determined to have it? Or, will it answer to say that the war was the fruit of a rash act of the president, in ordering the armed occupation of the disputed territory, and the country thus involved in war without our fault, we go for the country, *right* or *wrong?* Will conscience, will God justify us, in these deeds of darkness, for such a reason? Or will it do, in view of the well-known facts of the case, to pretend that Mexico provoked the war, by acts of aggression and hostility? Who will believe it?

And when these wrongs to humanity are to be accounted for; when the voice of bereaved homes, and bereaved hearts, and the voice of blood, cries from 15,000 graves, to heaven, against us; will it do to reply that we needed more territory to make new slave states, to preserve the balance of power between the north and the south; or to perpetuate and extend slavery! Is that institution so fraught with blessings to the country, and the race, so beneficial to either master or slave, to the oppressor or the oppressed; is it in such excellent odor among civilized nations, and so approved by a just and benevolent God, that to foster and protect it, we may be justified in squandering hundreds of millions of dollars, in producing the most enormous and wide-spread miseries, and in the offering of 15,000 human sacrifices! If this language seem severe, it is because the facts themselves are severe.

But the question returns: are we justified—or, are we, as a nation, guilty, and bound by every consideration of truth and right, to humble ourselves before God, and seek his forgiveness, and ask his interposition, to enable us to retrace our steps, and thus "bring forth fruits meet for repentance?"

3. Reflect, too, what ends—worthy of humanity, and approved of heaven—might have been attained, by the proper use of the treasure we have ingloriously wasted.

Our gifts to the starving population of Ireland, have astonished the civilized world. But the whole amount of our charities, to the famishing millions of other lands, would scarcely equal the expenditure for the Mexican war *a single week.* It was a humane and noble deed, done by our own state legislature, at its last session—the granting of $60,000 to found a hospital for the insane; to restore to home and friends, and kindred, and society; to themselves, to virtue, and to God, the unfortunate, whose lamp of reason had gone out. But this sum would pay the expenses of the Mexican war—*three hours!* And the cost of all similar institutions, in the whole land; the institutions for the relief of the poor and the suffering, of every name; the Hospitals, the Asylums, the Retreats, the Homes; by means of which, comfort and happiness are freely provided for thousands, would be consumed by this war in a very few days!

The combined expense of the hundreds of colleges and seminaries; of the thousands of academies, and tens of thousands of common schools, which are justly accounted the glory of the land;—the entire cost of all the means of education, enjoyed by the American people, is but a mere pittance compared to the amount squandered annually in the war with Mexico.

The cost of the administration of justice, in the courts of the general government, by which justice is carried to the door of twenty millions of people, for a whole year, would scarce sustain the expense of this war a single day!

The entire cost of all the benevolent and philanthropic institutions, and societies, in the land; the cost of all the means of education of every description; the cost of sustaining all the churches, and all the means of moral and religious improvement put to-

gether, would equal the expense of the war but for a few short weeks!! So wide is the difference between the cost of virtue and vice;—between the means to destroy life, and the means of its preservation. And is it right, to waste the treasures which a beneficent God has provided and entrusted to us, as his stewards, to swell the tide of human happiness, in such an unhallowed enterprize as the Mexican war?

> "Were half the power that keeps the world in terror—
> Were half the wealth, bestowed on camps and courts—
> Given to redeem the human mind from error,
> There were no need of arsenals and forts.
> The warrior's name would be a name abhorr'd,
> And every nation, that should lift again
> Its hand against its brother—on its forehead
> Would wear, for evermore, the curse of Cain."—LONGFELLOW.

4. Look at the law of God; seeking, by the use of his authority, to bind all his intelligent creatures, made of one blood, in one harmonious and blissful brotherhood—seeking to make every heart beat in unison with his own, and to make every hand "a consecrated channel for his love to flow in;"—look seriously, at that law, and ask, is it right for the American nation—a nation exalted to heaven in intellectual and moral advantages—to employ her mighty energies in such an enterprise of blood, of woe and death, as the Mexican war?

5. Look to Calvary—where the Son of God is dying, amid the agonies of the Cross, for the redemption of men—and as you gaze on that scene, read, from the word of Him who cannot lie, "Ye are bought with a price." Remember that the ransom price is there freely paid, and the door of hope freely opened to all. And can we, a christian nation, be guiltless, when we send to the battle-field, and to premature death, thousands for whom the Savior died, and to whom we are commanded to bear the message of his mercy, that they may live?

6. Nor let it be forgotten that there is a reckoning day. As a nation, God will deal with us in due time. He requires of us justice, mercy, and good will, to the vast brotherhood of nations. No nation on earth ever was placed in circumstances better to understand and appreciate her duty, and her true glory, in these respects, than our own. We owe it to ourselves—we owe it to the human family, so long torn and distracted, and enfeebled, by wars;—we owe it to God, the author of all our privileges, to set before all nations an example of forbearance, of peace, of love, in all our national intercourse and relations. He that created us—He that sustains us—against whom we have sinned, and who is "giving us blood to drink because we are worthy;" requires us to humble ourselves before Him for our sins, in warring against our feeble sister Republic; and to retrace our steps, and thus avert His righteous judgments.

Let the Church of God—His acknowledged servants and children—cease not to confess their sins, and the sins of the people, and seek the return of peace; that His name may be glorified, and the true interests of these warring nations be promoted, on the largest scale, and on the permanent foundation of truth and right.